

MISFORTUNE IF WILSON SHOULD BE RE-ELECTED

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from the standpoint of America, and not from the standpoint of any other nation.

The root idea of American citizenship, the necessary prerequisite for patriotic service at home, and for service to mankind at large, is that there shall be in our citizenship no dual allegiance. There must be no divided loyalty between this country and the country from which any of our citizens, or the ancestor of any of our citizens, have come. The policy of the United States must be shaped with a view to two conditions only. First, with a view to the honor and interest of the United States, and second, with a view to its interest of the world as a whole. It is therefore our high and solemn duty, both to prepare our own strength so as to guarantee our own safety, and also to treat every foreign nation, in any given crisis, as its conduct in that crisis demands. The citizen who does not so act, and who endeavors to shape America's policy in the interest of the country from which he or his ancestors have sprung, is no true American, and has no moral right to citizenship in this country. Any attempt to organize American citizens along political-racial lines is a foul and evil thing. Any organization of American citizens which acts in the interest of a foreign power is guilty of moral treason to the republic. It is because of such action that I condemn those professional German-Americans who in our politics act as servants and allies of Germany, not as Americans interested solely in the honor and welfare of America; and I would condemn just as quickly English-Americans or French-Americans or Irish-Americans who acted in such manner.

Americanism is a matter of the spirit, of the soul, of the mind; not of birthplace or creed. We care nothing as to where any man was born, or as to the land from which his forefathers came, so long as he is wholeheartedly and in good faith an American and nothing else. If the man is a good American we care nothing as to his creed, whether he be Protestant, Catholic or Jew; we care nothing whether his ancestors came over in the Mayflower, or whether he himself was born in England or Ireland, in France or Germany, in Scandinavia or Russia. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were men who were born abroad; and in every great period of American history, the Americans who deserved best of their country have included men of different creeds; men whose ancestors had for generations lived on this soil; and other men who themselves, or whose parents, had come from some of the lands of the Old World. But all these men alike acted as Americans and nothing else, and with an undivided loyalty to this nation, and not with a half-loyalty to

this nation and a half-loyalty to some Old World nation.

During the last two years we have seen an evil revival in this country of non-American and anti-American division along political-racial lines; and we owe this primarily to the fact that President Wilson has lacked the courage and the vision to lead this nation in the path of high duty, and by the lack of affirmative leadership has loosened the moral fibre of our people, has weakened our national spirit, and has encouraged the upgrowth within our own borders of separatism along the lines of racial origin. When our own government so acted as to bring shame on all our people, it shook the spirit of loyalty among those to whom it was vital that loyalty should be taught. Full-hearted allegiance is shattered by the government that fails to uphold the honor and interest of the nation by immediate and effective action when the lives of its citizens are menaced or taken by foreign powers.

The cause of preparedness is inseparably connected with the cause of Americanism, of patriotism, of wholehearted loyalty to this nation, and to all for which all the great men of this nation in the past have stood. The events of the last two years have made it evident that the dreams of the peace dreams but nightmares, so far as the unfortunate nations who trusted them were concerned. Moreover, in practice these pacifists have shown not only utter futility but moral baseness. They have not only been helpless to defend themselves, but they have been so anxious to save their own skins that they have not dared to say, one word against rampant wrong and in favor of the right that was crushed by the wrong. There are few things more revolting than such an attitude when taken by professional moralists.

As the world now is, our great free democracy must understand that unless it can protect itself by its own strength and its strength is not strength at all unless it is carefully trained in advance—it will sooner or later suffer the fate that China is suffering before our eyes. Thanks to the fact that President Wilson has sometimes led us wrong, and sometimes not led us at all, and that at the best he has merely followed after, off from the path of duty, we are at this moment no more prepared to defend ourselves than we were two years ago when the world war broke out. At last we have begun the work of restoring our navy to the position it formerly held; but it will take years to undo the harm done when in 1914 the democratic party gained control of the house and stopped upbuilding the navy; and it is entirely impossible to make the navy what it could be as long as we have a president who appoints and retains at its head a public official of the type of Mr. Daniels. Our regular army should be increased to a quarter of a million men, with a short-service term of enlistment; this would give us a mobile army of 125,000 men, enough to

patrol the Mexican border without help from the national guard, when Mr. Wilson halts between peace and feeble war. But this is not enough. The events of the past two years have shown that no people can permanently preserve its freedom, unless the people is trained to arms. Above all, this is true of a democracy. The enjoyment of right must go hand in hand with the performance of duty. Universal suffrage cannot be justified unless it connotes the performance by every voter of full duty to the state both in peace and in war. The man who refuses to fit himself to fight in right action for his country is not fit to vote in that country. We should follow the examples of the free democracies of Switzerland and Australia. There should be a system of universal obligatory military training in time of peace, and in time of war universal service in whatever capacity the man or woman shall be judged most fit to serve the commonwealth.

The nation which is not prepared, taken together, mean applied patriotism. There should be correlation of policy and armament. Our first duty as citizens of the United States is to the United States. But if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large. In addition to serving our own country we must shape the policy of our country so as to secure the cause of international righteousness, fair play and humanity. Our first duty is to protect our own rights; our second, to stand up for the rights of others. President Wilson has signally failed during this futility expedition were published, and they showed that the killed and wounded included one hundred and sixteen United States soldiers and ninety-five American civilians. Since then the Mexicans have killed many more; I notice, for example, in the press, that at Decatur, Alabama, there has just been buried Claude Bates, an American soldier, who died July 24 of wounds received in two days previously in a fight with Mexican bandits. Every week I have seen press statements of the killing of American regular soldiers or American civilians on the border. I do not know the total number of deaths received since June 1, but they include the Carrizal massacre. However, even before June 1, in this futile expedition against Villa more Americans had been killed and wounded than in all the fights by land and sea during the Spanish war; save only the battle of Santiago itself.

In other words, during this murderous "peace" of Messrs. Wilson and Carranza, in less than three months more American blood was shed than during the Spanish war, and the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila, and then in the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago; and then in the taking of Manila; and then in the fight at Guisamas; in short, in all the operations combined, the Carrizal massacre, save only the actual battle of Santiago itself. And yet there are persons who seemingly take comfort in speaking of one set of operations as being war, and who praise the other set as being peace. You do not have to accept my statement of condition in Mexico. Accept the official statement of President Wilson's secretary of state, Mr. Clegg, on June 29th last, which runs as follows: "For three years the Mexican republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties accumulated by Americans have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will throughout the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment, or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have never been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war. It would be tedious to recount instances after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread condition of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the last nine months in particular the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of the frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized,

lessly and abandoned ignobly; it was a war which failed; a war which did damage both to the Mexicans and ourselves, and which in its outcome reflected infinite dishonor upon our nation. But it was a war, nevertheless.

Again, in March last, Villa made a raid into American territory. He was a bandit leader whose career of successful infamy had been greatly aided by Mr. Wilson's favor and backing. He was at the head of Mexican soldiers, whose arms and ammunition had been supplied to them in consequence of Mr. Wilson's reversing Mr. Taft's policy and lifting his embargo against arms and munitions into Mexico. They attacked Columbus, New Mexico, and killed a number of civilians and a number of United States troops. On the next day the president issued an announcement; that adequate forces would be sent in pursuit of Villa "with the single object of capturing him." On April 8th, the announcement was made from the White House that the troops would remain in Mexico until Villa was captured. It was furthermore announced in the press dispatches from Washington that he was to be taken "dead or alive." Fine words! Only—they meant nothing. He is not dead. He has not been taken alive.

On May 12, the pursuit of Villa was formally abandoned. On July 1, the official figures of the dead and wounded during this futile expedition were published, and they showed that the killed and wounded included one hundred and sixteen United States soldiers and ninety-five American civilians. Since then the Mexicans have killed many more; I notice, for example, in the press, that at Decatur, Alabama, there has just been buried Claude Bates, an American soldier, who died July 24 of wounds received in two days previously in a fight with Mexican bandits. Every week I have seen press statements of the killing of American regular soldiers or American civilians on the border. I do not know the total number of deaths received since June 1, but they include the Carrizal massacre. However, even before June 1, in this futile expedition against Villa more Americans had been killed and wounded than in all the fights by land and sea during the Spanish war; save only the battle of Santiago itself.

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American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen, American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered.

"The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progresso postoffice, and Las Paladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory Carranzistas, adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers, took part in the looting, burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated."

And this is Mr. Wilson's own official account of the "peace" he has secured in Mexico. In this official statement President Wilson gives the final result of his policy in Mexico for the past three years. I call your attention to the fact that he states that the attacks on the four enumerated American towns in September last were "typical" and says that "in these attacks on American territory there were Carranzistas adherents and Carranzista soldiers who took part in the burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated."

President Wilson therefore explicitly shows that the Carranzistas, not only but repeatedly, made attacks on American towns and killed American citizens, and mutilated them in September, 1915. Yet on October 19th, 1915, less than a month later, this same President Wilson, through his secretary of state, formally announced to Carranza's agent that it was his "pleasure" to take the opportunity "of extending recognition to the de facto government of Mexico, of which General Venustiano Carranza is the chief executive." President Wilson thus recognized the government which, his own secretary of state declares, had been less than a month previously engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans, and in the invasion of American territory, and the government at whose head was General Carranza, who, less than two months previously, on August 2nd, 1915, had contemptuously refused to pay any heed to representations of President Wilson on behalf of mediation, saying that "under no consideration would I permit interference in the internal affairs of Mexico." President Wilson did not merely kiss the hand that slapped him in the face. He kissed that hand when it was red with the blood of American men, women and children, who had been murdered and mutilated with, as President Wilson, through his secretary of state says, "ruthless brutality."

In all this shameful history of Mr. Wilson's dealings with Mexico during the past three years, nothing has been more shameful than his conduct at Tampico. On August 27, 1913, President Wilson said with marked oratorical effect: "We shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away from Mexico." "Vigilant" means "watchful" waiting for there phrase matters nothing, for there never is any need to back it up. Three years have passed since the date of this oration; three years of incessant clamor on the part of Mr. Wilson; three years of repeated invocation to humanity and peace by Mr. Wilson; and Mr. Wilson still continues to "vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away."

There are not many of them left now. Hundreds have been killed, and Mr. Wilson has watched their fortunes as disinterestedly as if they had been rats pursued by terriers. This administration has displayed no more feeling of responsibility for the American women who have been raped, and for the American men, women and children who have been killed in Mexico, than a farmer shows for the rats killed by his dogs when the rats are taken from the barn. And now the American people are asked to sanction this policy in the name of peace, righteousness and humanity.

In conclusion Mr. Roosevelt said: "Since 1912 we have had four years of a policy which has been an ode to the spirit of idealism. It has meant the relaxation of our moral fibre. Horror of war, combined with a sort of appeal to self-interest and to fear, has paralyzed the national conscience. We have been told that Americans if they do not wish to be killed, should leave Mexico and should keep off the ocean; that to save a few American lives it is not worth while to hazard the lives of American soldiers; that Mexicans should be allowed to spill blood to their hearts' content; that the European war is no concern of

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ours; that even as between Belgium and Germany we should be neutral not only in act but in sympathy. Not once has President Wilson squarely placed before the American people the question which Abraham Lincoln put before the American people in 1860: what is our duty? Not once has he appealed to moral idealism, to the stern enthusiasm of strong men for the right. On the contrary, he has employed every eloquacious device to lull to sleep our sense of duty, to make us content with words instead of deeds, to make our moral idealism and enthusiasm evaporate in empty phrases instead of being reduced to concrete action. America as a nation has been officially kept in a position of timid indifference and cold selfishness America, which sprang to the succor of Cuba in 1895, has stood an idle spectator of the invasion of Belgium, of the sinking of the Lusitania, of the continued slaughter of our own citizens, and of the reign of anarchy, rapine and murder in Mexico.

ARTILLERY IS ACTIVE ON ALL BATTLE FRONTS

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port. It has been announced that Russian troops have begun marching through Dobrudja.

Pleased with Appointment
BERLIN, August 30.—(Via London, August 31.)—The appointment of General von Hindenburg as chief of the German general staff was received here as a welcome surprise. The measure had long been under discussion and few outside the inner official circles looked for a change now. Rumania's declaration of war undoubtedly was a decisive factor. Her action in any case would have entailed a rearrangement of the eastern commands, as a greater extension of the southern sector makes continuance of the arrangement put into effect a month ago impracticable.

Rumors are current that General von Falkenhayn is destined for a high administrative post, and that changes of great political significance are pending. It is understood the Turkish and Bulgarian declarations of war on Rumania will be delivered simultaneously. The time of the delivery is uncertain. The American ambassador James W. Gerard has received instructions to take over the protection of Rumanian interests if agreeable to Germany. This

is considered certain. It is understood the Rumanian minister, Dr. Beldiman, will not return to Rumania but will reside in Denmark. He thereby will become a member of a little colony of diplomats in exile there until the war has ceased and new conditions are determined.

TO PROVIDE FOR ANY EMERGENCY IN FOOD SUPPLY

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instances cited were those of the Rock Island and the Chicago & Eastern Illinois railroads. Federal Judge Carpenter issued an injunction in connection with the Rock Island last May enjoining all persons from interfering with the operation and maintenance of the property. A similar injunction, it was said, was issued some months ago in the case of the other road.

Representatives of organized railway employees tonight telegraphed Congressman W. C. Adamson at Washington urging that he include in his eight-hour law provisions for an eight-hour day for unorganized employees also.

To Keep Trains Running
ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 31.—Railroad officials throughout the south made elaborate plans today to keep trains running in the event of a strike. At Savannah, Wilmington and Washington traffic officials and superintendents of the Central of Georgia, Atlantic Coast Line and Southern Railway, respectively three of the largest lines in the southeast, were in conference with general officers.

Explosives Company Closes
GARY, Ind., Aug. 31.—The Aetna Explosives company closed its plant today because of the embargo of the railroads on the shipment of explosives. One thousand men are thrown out of employment by the shutting down.

Every industry in the Gary district will stop operations, it was said today, should the nation-wide strike take place Monday. Twenty-five thousand men would be out of work.

Embargo Is Lifted
TOPEKA, Kas., Aug. 31.—The embargo on perishables was lifted by the Santa Fe tonight, according to an announcement at the general offices. The road will accept freight, paid in advance, at owner's risk. Livestock shipments are expected.



Mrs. Brown tells her grocer:
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At this moment Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson's fustian, advance as his greatest claim that "this kept us out of war." This claim can be seriously made only by individuals who endorse President Wilson's belief that deeds are nothing, and words everything. War means a clash between the armed forces of two countries. Nowadays (thanks quite as much to the professional pacifists as to the militarists) it means furthermore, the destruction of the lives of civilians and the property of civilians as well as the property of the government. Under President McKinley we had a war with Spain. Under President Wilson we are assured that we have had "peace" with Mexico. These are the words. Now for the deeds. During the war with Spain fewer Americans were killed by the Spaniards than have been killed by Mexicans during the present "peace" with Mexico. Let me repeat this. A greater number of Americans have been killed by Mexicans during these years, when we are officially informed that we have been at peace with them, than were killed by the Spaniards during our entire war with Spain. Moreover, when the war with Spain was through, it was through. But peace still continues to rage as furiously as ever in Mexico. Nor is this all. The instant effect of the outcome of the war with Spain was to put a stop to the dreadful butchery and starvation in Cuba and the Philippines, and the entry of both Cuba and the Philippines on a career of eighteen years of peace and prosperity such as they have never known before in all their checkered history. But during these three years of Mr. Wilson's "peace," the Mexicans themselves have been butchered by their own bandits steadily and without intermission; and Mexican women and children have died by thousands—probably by scores of thousands—of starvation, and of the diseases incident to starvation. In other words, Mr. McKinley's war cost less blood than Mr. Wilson's "peace," and it reflected high honor on the American people; whereas Mr. Wilson's peace has been one of shame and dishonor for the American people, and of ruin and bloodshed for the Mexicans themselves.

Mr. Wilson says we have had peace with Mexico. He says he did not wage war with Mexico. If he takes any comfort out of his denial, let us not insist upon the proper terminology, and admit that he merely waged peace with Mexico. Well, as one incident of his warring peace, we took Vera Cruz. Some seventy-five men wearing the American uniform were killed and wounded, and three or four times that number of Mexicans. In Mr. McKinley's war we took Manila; and Dewey's fleet lost fewer men in the operation that resulted in the fall of Manila than were lost in the taking of Vera Cruz. Under these conditions, of what earthly consequence is it to assert that the taking of Vera Cruz was an act of war, and the taking of Manila an act of war? Only by a misuse of terminology only by the use of an incorrect nomenclature, can we distinguish one military operation from the other.

The real difference was that Mr. Wilson became frightened and abandoned Vera Cruz, whereas Mr. McKinley did not abandon Manila. Mr. Wilson's operations were war just as much as Mr. McKinley's. But Mr. Wilson was beaten in his war. It was a war which was entered into point-

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